

ical faculty of the Charles University, Prague; party member 1947-70. Specialty: political history of the First Czech republic. Currently: disability pensioner and clerk in the Department of History and Ethnology.

Opat, Jaroslav (1922)—Formerly: research associate at the Institute for East European history; party member 1945-70. Specialty: history of the people's democracies. Currently: mason.

Ort, Alexandr (1924)—Formerly: research associate at the Institute for International Politics and Economics; party member 1945-70. Specialty: foreign policy of the First Czech republic. Currently: without regular employment.

Otahal, Milan (1928)—Formerly: research associate at the Historical Institute of the Academy of Sciences; party member 1954-70. Specialty: Czechoslovakian history since World War II. Currently: disability pensioner.

Otahalova, Libuse (1925)—Formerly: research associate at the Historical Institute of the Academy of Sciences. Specialty: documentations of recent Czechoslovakian history. Currently: disability pensioner.

Palacky, Frantisek (1929)—Formerly: instructor at the Pedagogical Academy in Usti n. L.; no party affiliation. Specialty: local history of Northern Bohemia. Currently: teacher at a vocational school.

Pauliny, Akos—Formerly: instructor on the philosophical faculty of the University of Bratislava. Currently: Marburg, Federal Republic of Germany.

Pekarek, Bohumil (1923)—Formerly: research associate at the Institute for the History of Socialism of the Central Committee of the Czechoslovak Communist party; party member 1945-70. Specialty: history of the Czechoslovak Communist party 1938-45. Currently: laborer.

Pfaffe, Ivan (1928)—Formerly: museum curator; no party affiliation. Specialty: 19th century Czech history; 20th century political history. Currently: museum curator in Rastatt, Federal Republic of Germany.

Pickova, Vera (1924)—Formerly: research associate at the Institute for Military History; party member until 1970. Specialty: 16th and 17th century military history. Currently: clerk.

Pichlik, Karel (1928)—Formerly: research associate at the Institute for Military History; party member 1947-70. Specialty: history of World War I. Currently: laborer.

Pokorna, Jirina (1919)—Formerly: research associate at the Institute for the History of Socialism of the Central Committee of the Czechoslovak Communist party; party member 1938-70. Specialty: history of the Czechoslovak Communist party in the 1930's. Currently: translator.

Polak, Pavel—Formerly: associate at the Institute for the History of the European Socialist Countries of the Slovakian Academy of Sciences; party member until 1970. Specialty: Russo-Czechoslovakian relations 1917-39; Interhelpo.

Pousta, Zdenek (1940)—Formerly: archivist at the Institute for the History of the Charles University, Prague; party member until 1970. Specialty: history of the Czechoslovak Communist party. Currently: chauffeur.

Precan, Vilem (1933)—Formerly: research associate at the Historical Institute of the Academy of Sciences; party member 1951-70. Specialty: history of the resistance movements during World War II, particularly in Slovakia. Currently: fireman.

Pruzinova, Eva (1930)—Formerly: associate at the Institute for Military History; party member until 1970. Specialty: history of the Czechoslovakian army. Currently: postal clerk.

Reiman, Michal (1930)—Formerly: lecturer in the history of the Czechoslovak Communist party at the Academy of Politics of the Central Committee of the Czechoslovak Communist party; party member 1946-70. Specialty: history of the Russian revolution of 1917. Currently: translator.

Reiman, Pavel (1902)—Formerly: until 1968 director of the Institute for the History of Socialism of the Central Committee of the Czechoslovak Communist party; party member 1921-70. Specialty: history of the Czechoslovak Communist party and the labor movement. Currently: pensioner.

Roskova, Miroslava—Formerly: instructor at the Bratislava Institute of Technology; party member until 1970. Specialty: Communist youth movement and student associations in the 1930's.

Seldierova, Irena (1926)—Formerly: research associate at the Historical Institute of the Academy of Sciences, in Theresienstadt 1943-45; party member 1945-70. Specialty: history of physics. Currently: laborer.

Seifter, Pavel (1938)—Formerly: instructor on the philosophical faculty of the Charles University, Prague; party member 1958-70. Specialty: history of the international labor movement. Currently: window washer.

Sladek, Jiri (1913)—Formerly: research associate at the Institute for the History of Socialism of the Central Committee of the Czechoslovak Communist party; party member from 1930's until 1970. Specialty: history of the Czechoslovak Communist party. Currently: pensioner.

Smolka, Josef (1929)—Formerly: research associate at the Historical Institute of the Academy of Sciences; party member 1954-70. Specialty: history of science. Currently: clerk.

Svatek, Frantisek (1936)—Formerly: instructor at the Academy of Politics of the Central Committee of the Czechoslovak Communist party; party member until 1970. Specialty: international labor movement. Currently: clerk in second-hand bookstore.

Svaton, Sava (1923)—Formerly: associate at the Institute for Military History; in concentration camp 1944-45; party member 1945-70. Specialty: history of World War I. Currently: laborer.

Sedivy, Jaroslav (1929)—Formerly: research associate at the Institute for International Politics and Economics; party member until 1970. Specialty: history of Czechoslovak foreign policy. Currently: window washer.

Sikl, Zdenek (1933)—Formerly: editor in chief of the journal "History and the Present"; party member 1957-70. Specialty: history of the First Czechoslovak republic. Currently: clerk in public health office.

Snejdarek, Antonin (1914)—Formerly: director of the Institute for International Politics and Economics. Specialty: history of World War II; international politics. Currently: professor at the University of Paris, France.

Solle, Zdenek (1924)—Formerly: research associate at the Historical Institute of the Academy of Sciences; party member 1945-70. Specialty: history of the labor movement. Currently: clerk in archive of the Academy of Sciences.

Solic, Jiri (1930)—Formerly: research associate at the Institute for Military History; party member until 1972. Specialty: history of the Czechoslovakian army in World War II. Currently: construction worker.

Svanikmajer, Milan (1928)—Formerly: research associate at the Institute for East European History; party member until 1970. Specialty: 18th and 19th century Russian history. Currently: librarian.

Stvrtecky, Stefan—Formerly: associate at the Institute for the History of the European Socialist Countries of the Slovakian Academy of Sciences; party member until 1970. Specialty: Slovak Communists in Russia after the October revolution.

Telch, Mikulas—Formerly: research associ-

ate at the Historical Institute of the Academy of Sciences. Currently: Cambridge, England.

Teichova, Alice—Formerly: lecturer at the Pedagogical Academy, Prague. Currently: Cambridge, England.

Tesar, Jan (1933)—Formerly: research associate at the Historical Institute of the Academy of Sciences; party member 1963-63 (resigned). Specialty: history of World War II. Currently: arrested in 1969, released without trial after 13 months, arrested again in November 1971 and sentenced to six years of imprisonment.

Truc, Miroslav (1929)—Formerly: instructor at the Institute for the History of the Charles University, Prague; party member 1963-70. Specialty: history of the Charles University in the 16th and 17th centuries. Currently: stock clerk.

Tichy, Milos—Formerly: instructor at the University of Bratislava; party member until 1970. Specialty: Slovak regional history.

Ulicny, Frantisek—Formerly: instructor on the philosophical faculty of the University of Presov; party member until 1970. Specialty: settlement in Eastern Slovakia.

Ungermann, Zdenek (1918)—Formerly: lecturer at the Pedagogical Academy, Pizen; party member until 1970. Specialty: local history. Currently: deceased.

Uslak, Jan—Formerly: instructor at the University of Bratislava; party member until 1970. Specialty: history of the Protestant churches in Slovakia.

Vaclavu, Antonin (1922)—Formerly: research associate at the Institute for the History of Socialism of the Central Committee of the Czechoslovak Communist party; party member 1939-70; in concentration camp 1940-45. Specialty: 20th century agricultural history. Currently: disability pensioner.

Vaclavu, Vladka (1928)—Formerly: instructor in Marxism on the Faculty of Law. Specialty: history of the Czechoslovak Communist party in the 1930's. Currently: librarian.

Valenta, Jaroslav (1930)—Formerly: research associate at the Institute for East European History; party member 1948-70. Specialty: Polish-Czechoslovakian relations. Currently: disability pensioner.

Veber, Vaclav (1931)—Formerly: lecturer in political science on the philosophical faculty of the Charles University, Prague; party member 1948-70. Specialty: Leninism and socialist ideologies. Currently: clerk, now unemployed.

Vietor, Martin—Formerly: professor on the Faculty of Law at the University of Bratislava; party member until 1970. Specialty: the Slovak Soviet republic; Southern Slovakia under Hungarian occupation.

Vlasanek, Miroslav (1928)—Formerly: instructor at the Academy of Politics of the Central Committee of the Czechoslovak Communist party; party member 1946-70. Specialty: history of the Czechoslovak Communist party in the 1930's. Currently: mason.

Vickova, Eva (1924)—Formerly: research associate at the Institute for the History of Socialism of the Central Committee of the Czechoslovak Communist party; party member 1945-70. Specialty: the history of the German Social Democratic exiles in Prague. Currently: disability pensioner.

Zamecnik, Stanislav (1920)—Formerly: research associate at the Institute for Military History; in concentration camp during World War II; party member 1945-70. Specialty: history of the Prague uprising of 1945. Currently: laborer.

APPOINTMENT OF GEORGE BUSH, DIRECTOR OF CIA

Mr. MONDALE. Mr. President, last week the President announced major changes in his administration. Among

them was George Bush to be Director of Intelligence. I do not know how quickly he will be able to build a Government. I do not know how he will be able to exclude as CIA Director.

I do not know how he will be able to ported before. It is all who through undermining confidence of democracy.

Mr. President, I do not know how he will be able to select and as a press man, the nomination of Director of Intelligence.

First, I do not know the role of public life. I do not know how he will exercise the most fundamental function of a government.

To be a sensitized American, we are required to propose the ability. I do not know how we very much and, in part, the basic function of a government.

Nixon, Mr. President, pay for the price, and if it forgets the Watergate politicians; abetted by the Hald Mitchell's that man Mr. Nixon the Peter most of the

I believe including limits to the office of the Committee of the and the community confidence in our intelligence activities had through ing to be ple, they and prop abuses w

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them was the nomination of Mr. George Bush to be Director of the Central Intelligence Agency. This appointment has quickly become a major point of controversy because of the argument of some that building public confidence in our Government means that politicians must be excluded from such sensitive positions as CIA Director.

I do not share this view. It is unsupported by our recent historical experience. It unfairly attacks the integrity of all who seek to serve their country through elective office. And it helps to undermine, rather than restore, the confidence of the American people in their democratic political system.

Mr. President, as a member of the Senate Select Committee on Intelligence, and as a politician, I would like to express my views on the issues raised by the nomination of George Bush to be Director of the Central Intelligence Agency.

First, let me explain how I feel about the role of politicians in American public life. To participate in politics is to exercise our freedom. It is one of our most fundamental rights. It must be encouraged, not maligned.

To be a practicing politician is to be sensitized to what is acceptable to the American people. It trains us to respect the governmental institutions for which we are responsible. It demands a measure of proportion and restraint. It imposes the discipline of public accountability. I believe these are the qualities we very much need in our Government and, in particular, in the CIA.

The tragedy of Watergate involved basically one politician, Richard M. Nixon. All politicians in this country will pay for Watergate for some time to come.

But the Nation will pay too high a price, indeed court political bankruptcy, if it forgets that those who conducted the Watergate break-in were not politicians; that those who encouraged and abetted Nixon's subsequent cover-up—the Haldemans, the Ehrlichman's, the Mitchell's—were not politicians; and that many of those who finally brought Mr. Nixon to account, the Sam Ervins, the Peter Rodinos, had been politicians most of their lives.

I believe no post in our Government—including the CIA—should be placed off limits to those who may have held elective office. The investigation of the Select Committee into the abuses and the failings of the Central Intelligence Agency and the rest of the intelligence community does little to encourage confidence in the alternatives.

It is my view that if past Directors of our intelligence and investigative agencies had stood for elective office, had gone through the political experience of trying to be responsive to the American people, they might have had the good sense and proportion to say "no" to the many abuses we have uncovered.

In short, Mr. Bush's past political activities should not disqualify him from holding this important post. Assuming he possesses the other qualifications necessary—and I am reserving judgment on that question until the confirmation hearings are over—I would hope his past

political activities should not disqualify him by affording him the caution, restraint and sense of accountability and proportion that a lifetime in politics usually instills.

But if Mr. Bush's political past presents few concerns regarding his fitness for this office, his possible political future presents a great many. Senator FRANK CHURCH, the chairman of the Senate Select Committee on Intelligence Activities, has ably articulated these concerns and they are ones which I fully share.

The President has indicated that he regards Mr. Bush as a serious possibility for the Republican Vice Presidential nomination in 1976, and Mr. Bush himself has indicated since his appointment that he maintains a continuing interest in elective public office.

It is precisely this possibility that troubles me deeply, and unless it is clarified satisfactorily I would have serious reservations about supporting Mr. Bush's confirmation.

I have two reasons. The first is a practical one. I do not believe we should confirm as Director of the Central Intelligence Agency someone who may be off campaigning in a few short months. The necessary task of our investigations has subjected the Agency to turmoil enough. Now we are entering the most critical period as we seek to make changes to remedy the problems of the intelligence community. For this the CIA needs a full-time Director. And the first priority of the new Director must be the Nation's future, not his own future.

My second and greater concern is based on the traditional responsibility of the Senate, when viewing appointments made by the Executive, to assure there is no conflict of interest. This is what I think the chairman of our Select Committee is driving at in the concerns which he has expressed here on the floor. The issue is not the integrity of politicians; it is potential conflict of interest.

The CIA Director must be objective. He must be willing to give a President bad news. He must be willing to say "no" to things which would exceed CIA's authority or even the authority granted the President. He must be prepared to level with the Congress, even when the intelligence information does not square with the policies of the executive branch or the interest of his party.

If, indeed, Mr. Bush is a candidate for the Vice Presidency, or intends to go from service with the CIA to further national office, I believe that he could not fulfill those functions properly. There would be the inevitable suspicion that his actions and advice, however honorably motivated they might in fact be, were premised on or at least tempered by their possible effect on his own political future. Mr. Bush might even be unconscious of the tempering process, but if he maintained political ambition it would surely take place. And even if it did not, many people would never believe it. It would be a classic case of conflict of interest, and as with all such cases, appearance is as important as reality.

For that reason, I call upon Mr. Bush to renounce any candidacy for elective

national level for at least 2 years. By "national level" I mean the Presidency, the Vice Presidency, or the Congress.

Mr. Bush has had a distinguished public career. I do not believe having been chairman of the Republican National Committee should by itself disqualify him from holding this office. But given the need for public confidence, I believe 2 years is the minimum time for Mr. Bush to put his political career in trust.

If Mr. Bush is prepared to take that step, then I believe the Senate can consider his nomination on its merits. This does not mean I would not have some serious questions concerning his approach to problems of intelligence, his background, his appreciation of the importance of cooperating with the Congress. But such a step by Mr. Bush would wipe away this cloud of misunderstanding and potential conflict of interest. Indeed, it would be an important step toward restoring confidence in our vital intelligence institutions.

I believe also that Mr. Bush should appear before the select committee so that we may receive his assurances of cooperation with our investigation. Furthermore, the Congress and the country must be assured that he will tolerate no illegalities in the Agency. Both of these assurances are essential if the CIA is to regain the public trust it needs to do its job.

I hope that this debate concerning Mr. Bush will signal a turn of the tide in America's attitude toward those who try to serve the Nation by holding elective office. I have always been very proud to be in politics. I regard the responsibility given to me by the people of Minnesota a sacred trust. I doubt there is a Senator in this Chamber who does not feel the same way. This pride exists at every level of government in the United States.

Yet wounds from Watergate persist. The American people are understandably wary. If we are to put meaning into that increasingly tired phrase, "restore the confidence of the American people," I believe we must first demonstrate confidence in ourselves. We must not, as politicians, turn upon ourselves, attempt to run against our own profession, fall in with those who see politics as evil.

Without politics there is no democracy, and without democracy there is no America.

VIOLENCE IN OUR SCHOOLS

Mr. MATHIAS. Mr. President, recently I had the pleasure of speaking before the First National Conference on Delinquency Prevention in Niagara Falls. This conference was organized by its chief sponsor, the National Federation of State Youth Service Bureau Associations, of which the Maryland Association of Youth Service Bureaus is a charter member. It was also sponsored by the National Council on Crime and Delinquency, National Youth Alternatives Project, HEW's Office of Youth Development and the National Institute of Alcohol Abuse and Alcoholism.